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Although the following report is now out of date, it is forwarded in the hope that it may still be of some value.

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1. The main topic of the meeting was the attack delivered by the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. against some individual ideological deviations which, for example, were seen in opinions represented by Professor Winternitz, head of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, and Professor J. Kuczynski, president of the Gesellschaft fuer Deutsch-Sowjetische Freundschaft (Society for the Promotion of the German-Soviet Friendship). These facts had been previously discussed at the meeting of the Party Board held on 14 and 15 March 1950. Since Klaus Zwelling, chief editor of Einheit, theoretical periodical of the SED, had not yet contradicted the views of Professor Winternitz, he was also reprimanded and removed from office. Professor Winternitz was the top figure in a group of lecturers at the Karl Marx Academy who are believed to be critical toward Stalin, if not even hostile. Professor Winternitz was at that time accused of Titoism because he deviated from Lenin's view concerning the realization of collective farming. But it is believed that this move by the Soviet Polit Bureau was actually directed against the anti-Stalin group around Anton Ackermann. Since it was known that Heinrich Rau is opposed to the introduction of collective farming in the Soviet style, not for ideological reasons but for practical ones, Rau was ordered to read the impeachment against Winternitz at the session of the SED Party Board. Concerning the enforced collective farming in the Soviet Zone, Rau had always disagreed with Ulbricht.
2. The session of the Party Indoctrination Section held from 7 to 10 April 1950, was attended by its chief, Fred Oelssner, Horst Sindermann, all members of the Party Indoctrination Section, the Party Board and the Provincial Boards, and the chiefs of the Karl Marx Academy and the provincial party schools. The presence of Sindermann indicated that the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. was directly interested in the session. It was made unmistakably clear that no objectivism would be tolerated nor any criticism of the political, economic and cultural line which the U.S.S.R. was pursuing. Oelssner emphasized that there must be only one criterion for the individual and that is his attitude toward the U.S.S.R. In this respect there could be no neutrality and the cooperation between the SED and the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. should be intensified. Oelssner mentioned numerous cases of ideological deviations within the scope of party indoctrination which indicated the degree of the anti-Stalinist attitude among leading SED functionaries. Kurt Hager then attacked other unidentified top figures as stubborn practitioners, but everyone knew that his argument was directed against Heinrich Rau and all other adversaries of Ulbricht who experienced the impracticability of the intention of shaping East Germany in the image of the U.S.S.R.

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Anti-Stalinist Tendencies Strengthened.

3. The adverse criticism of the SED announced at the Cominform session in November 1949 did not initiate a change for the better. The transformation of the SED into a new-type party was apparently realized only on the lowest levels, and this by further election of party board members at the party elections, and purging other ordinary members. On the upper levels, however, resistance tightened. There are two critical groups to be mentioned. One is formed by Marxist theorists who still have scientific connections with the West, such as Professor Steinitz, with England, and Professor Kuczyński, with England and the United States. The second group consists of practitioners like Rau and Hoernle who experienced the immense difficulties which were caused by the introduction of pure Soviet measures into the Eastern Zone of Germany. A third group, the Trotskyites proper, with Anton Ackermann at their head, represents a minority in the background. They are cautiously biding their time which, in their opinion, will come after the unavoidable Third World War. As long as Soviet troops stay in Germany and the other non-Russian peoples within the Soviet sphere of influence have not yet sided with Tito, they believe a pro-Tito confession inopportune. Recently their implacable adversaries Ulbricht, Dahlen and Paul Merker lost their good graces with the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. because the ordered reorganization of the SED did not yet prove a complete success and, what is worse, most of the workers are getting more and more hostile toward the SED. The weakened position of these top figures was reflected in the success of the practitioners, which centered in the reduction of the Soviet reparation claims announced by the SED Polit-Bureau on 9 May 1950.
4. The SED Polit-Bureau is trying to counteract the anti-Stalinist development by an enforced indoctrination, particularly by the so-called "circle work", groups studying the book History of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. All party districts were advised, by order of the party board dated 10 and 11 January 1950, to turn in schedules for the training of all functionaries by 1 March at the latest. But in Brandenburg, for example, the schedules of seven districts had not yet come in by 11 March 1950. A similar situation prevailed in other states. It was reported again and again that party boards, burgomasters and enterprise managers refused to give furlough to the functionaries who are to be delegated to the indoctrination courses. Almost all party schools have a shortage of students. No party school is utilized to capacity. The same applies to the enterprise party schools as was indicated by a report forwarded by the Siemens-Flania Plant in Berlin concerning the activities of its enterprise party schools. There, indoctrination was considered an inconvenient appendage. No course was completely filled. The plant management complained that no worker could be given leave without production coming to a standstill. In a survey which is available on indoctrination activities in Berlin it was stated that 69.9 percent of the residential group chiefs of the Soviet Sector of Berlin have not yet attended the district party school; 61.6 percent of the residential group chiefs of the Western Sectors of Berlin have not yet attended the district party school; 74 percent of the party enterprise groups of West Berlin have not yet attended any indoctrination course. Lena Fischer recently reported that 40 percent of the members of district boards in Berlin have not yet been trained at the district party schools. It is noteworthy that the proportion of workers in the indoctrination courses is diminishing. This can be illustrated by an example in the Borna district. There, 48 students had been delegated to the last course of the district party school with only 12 workers among them. But it is understood that Borna represents a center of industrial enterprises. Similar complaints were brought forth by Hans Brandt, chief of the Party Indoctrination Section at the Mecklenburg Provincial Board on the occasion of a meeting held on 25 April 1950. The second six-week course at the district party school in Malchin had 37 students with six workers among them. The full capacity of this course was 100 students. Individual

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functionaries who were to be sent to the district party school in Hagenow refused to go, so that, because of breach of the party discipline, proceedings had to be taken against them. The low level of the party indoctrination may be well characterized by the case of a functionary trained at the Hagenow school who was accused of having split the students' collective because he acquired the prescribed knowledge faster, thanks to his greater gifts, and thus became "arrogant". The Polit-Bureau is greatly troubled with the problem of objectivism, i.e. the objective analysis of problems which is applied in all western sciences. The functionaries are held not to criticize the Leninist and Stalinist theory on principle, but to consider them as well-established dogma. So far only the economic faculty of Leipzig University had been attacked because of objectivist methods. Professor Winter-nitz, however, was the first top party indoctrination functionary reprimanded. In this connection Walter Ulbricht, the main initiator of this campaign, stated in his speech delivered on Lenin Day on 22 April 1950 that it was necessary to study the research data of Soviet science, financial theory, labor theory, art and literature at the German universities. He stated furthermore that there was still a "residue of German arrogance", even among some SED professors. It may be assumed that this campaign, which again shows the controversy between Stalinists and Tito-ists, will be recklessly carried on, and that some more leading SED politicians will fall its victim.

Cadre Policy Strengthened by the Appointment of Instructors

5. Not only in the sphere of the state, but also within the bounds of the party, the appointment of instructors is being increasingly intensified. These instructors are to collect information and to eliminate anti-Stalinist persons from key positions. A report concerning the activation and organization of the instructor apparatus was submitted by Bruno Rauchbach, leading functionary of the cadre section and the party board, late in March 1950. He stated that, because of lack of instructors and cadre personnel, the reorganization could not yet be completed, but in the future all enterprise groups and residential groups will be advised by instructors. It is expected that the instructor system will have its effect at the election of delegates for the Third Party Day. According to a resolution of the Polit-Bureau of 28 March 1950, the instructors have to attend all party meetings so that every deviation from the party line by any functionary or member will be made known. The instructors will have to submit a report on every meeting and will give details on the mood and attitude by filling in special report forms which are to be sent to the provincial party board. About 3,000 instructors were appointed in Mecklenburg on the occasion of the election of the delegates for the Third Party Convention. This highlights the anxiety prevailing in the Polit-Bureau concerning the development of the SED.

Last Purge Prior to the Third Party Convention

The Polit-Bureau is attempting to obtain admission to the Cominform on the occasion of the Third Party Convention. The election of delegates for the party convention is therefore considered the last means for the elimination of all those party functionaries who deviate from the party line. In the session of the Polit-Bureau held on 28 March 1950, measures to be taken by the SED after the Third Party Convention were discussed. Hermann Axen announced that the indoctrination of the masses (Massenarbeit) will primarily be stressed, and the sections for mass propaganda in the party board and state boards will gain in importance. All these attempts will practically aim at the activation and organization of the National Front committees so that the October elections may yield a result favorable to the SED. The first steps taken are to be seen both in the organization of enlightenment groups (Aufklaerungsgruppen) in all states of the zone, and the establishment of propaganda centers (Werbelokale) which will not be shut down after the elections. The enlightenment groups are to control 30 to 40 persons each all over the zone. Attempts are presently being made to organize such groups in industrial enterprises, nationalized or private. The state authorities and the rural communities will

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be covered by these activities. Necessary directives may finally be issued at the Third Party Convention. Apparently following the repeatedly expressed wish on the part of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. Paul Verner urged the acceleration of the reorganization of the SED into a new-type party. In this connection he even admitted the existence of certain factions within the party. That is to be understood by these factions became clear from his attacks against Social Democratism (Sozialdemokratismus), opportunist concepts concerning the bloc policy and the National Front, the underestimation of the U.S.S.R. and tendencies of nationalist arrogance. The present condition of the SED was summarized by Walter Franze in the issue of Neues Deutschland, dated 7 May 1950. Franze stated that, in spite of undisputed successes by the SED, there are great ideological residues and weaknesses. He also complained of the "lower middle class-nationalist opportunism" still to be found in the party which causes an "insufficient estimate" of the U.S.S.R. and retreat in face of the anti-Soviet propaganda. It is imperative for the working class to overcome its arrogance toward the Slavic neighbors and to recognize unconditionally the Oder-Neisse frontier. The opinion of numerous workers that the National Front is a kind of propaganda gesture and betrays the class war, is to be repudiated likewise. The functionaries should not give lip service to the National Front but should support it wholeheartedly. They must be convinced of the importance of National Front cooperation. Franze furthermore repudiated every slackening of the party discipline to be noticed in other spheres.

7. The old-time Communist Party functionaries have become irreconcilable enemies of the pro-Stalin system within the SED. The attitude of these functionaries will constitute the No.1 problem of the Third Party Convention.

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